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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 NEAE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

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IGA-02 EB-07 CIEP-01 EA-07 STR-04 IO-11 COME-00 /095 W
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C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 3090

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, IN, US
SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: THE GOI'S MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: STATE 37591

SUMMARY: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IS AN IMPORTANT IF NOT THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. INDIA LOOKS TO THE NON-ALIGNED AND TO MULTILATERAL FORA AS MEANS TO AMPLIFY ITS VOICE AND ADVANCE INDIAN OBJECTIVES: (A) TO OBTAIN BACKING FOR REGIONAL SECURITY AND POLITICAL INTERESTS (B) TO NEUTRALIZE PAKISTAN AND CHINA (C) TO ASSURE FLOWS OF CONCESSIONAL FINANCING, AND EXPANDED ACCESS TO DEVELOPED COUNTRY MARKETS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PAKISTAN, SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES NORMALLY BUT NOT ALWAYS FOLLOW THE INDIAN LEAD IN MULTILATERAL FORA. INDIA IS NO LONGER AS INFLUENTIAL AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED AS IT ONCE WAS BUT IT IS STILL TO BE RECKONED WITH. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE INDO-SOVIET CONSULTATION ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS, NONE WITH THE PRC. RECEPTIVITY TO US REPRESENTATIONS HAS NOT USUALLY BEEN HIGH ALTHOUGH IN THE LAST YEAR INDIA'S
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GENERALLY MODERATE POSITION HAS LED IT TO BE MORE HELPFUL ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. GOI DELEGATES ARE ON

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BALANCE WELL BRIEFED, BUT DO HAVE SOME LATITUDE AT CONFERENCES. INDIAN PERMREPS DO NOT HAVE AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POSITION. INDIA UNDERSTANDS THE RELATION-SHIPS BETWEEN MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS IN REETEL FOLLOW:

1. REFTEL PARA 7(A): CONTAIN/CONTER PAKISTANI MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY-- INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY REFLECTS A DESIRE TO MAKE DIFFICULT PAKISTAN'S ACQUISITION OF INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE, PARTICIPATION IN NON-ALIGNED FORUMS, OR POLITICAL/MORAL SUPPORT FROM ANY QUARTER. PAKISTAN'S MEMBERSHIP IN AN EXTRA-REGIONAL MILITARY ALLIANCE - CENTO EASES INDIAN EFFORTS TO EXCLUDE PAKISTAN FROM THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, BUT PAKISTAN'S TIES WITH THE ARAB WORLD COMPLIATE INDIAN EFFORTS TO WEAKEN ITS GEN-ERAL INTERNATIONAL POSITION. AS IN 1975, INDIA CAN BE EXPECTED TO PUSH ITS OWN CANDIDACY FOR ONE OF THE ROTATING ASIAN SECURITY COUNCIL SEATS, (ALTHOUGH WE ARE TOLD INFORMALLY NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE YET) BOTH TO COUNTER PAKISTAN'S CURRENT MEMBERSHIP AND TO OBTAIN A PLATFORM FROM WHICH TO PROMOTE ITS OWN CAUSES. INDO-PAKISTANI COMPETITION IN OTHER FORUMS IS NOT EXPECTED TO ABATE IN COMING MONTHS--AND MAY EVEN INTENSIFY IF THE SIMLA PROCESS REMAINS STALEMATED.

2. PROMOTE NON-ALIGNMENT AND INDIA'S NON-ALIGNED LEADERSHIP--AS A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE MOVEMENT, INDIA CONTINUES TO CLAIM A LEADING ROLE FOR ITSELF AND GIVES STRONG MORAL/VERBAL SUPPORT TO SUCH TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED CAUSES AS DECOLONIZATION. APARTHEID AND SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY IN NAMIBIA REMAIN DELHI'S FAVORITE TARGETS, BUT THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IS ALSO IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF INDIAN WOOING OF THE ARAB WORLD. INDIA CONTINUES TO TAKE SERIOUSLY ITS ROLE AS ONE OF THE GROUP OF FIVE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ASSIGNED TO MEDIATE THE CYPRUS DISPUTE.

3. MANY INDIAN OFFICIALS USED TO SEE THEIR COUNTRY IN COMPETITION WITH THE PRC FOR THIRD-WORLD LEADERSHIP,
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WITH THEIR POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SYSTEM REPRESENTING AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT, BUT THIS CONCERN HAS DIMINISHED IN RECENT YEARS. THERE IS GREATER CON-CERN NOW LEST INDIA BE GRADUALLY DISPLACED AS A NON-ALIGNED LEADER BY ALGERIA AND THE OTHER RADICALS. TO ENHANCE ITS CREDENTIALS IN THE THIRD-WORKD, INDIA'S RHETORIC SOMETIMES IS EXTREME, THOUGH ITS ACTIONS FALL SHORT AND IT OFTEN ATTEMPTS TO SOFTEN POLEMICAL LANGUAGE IN DRAFTS. WITHIN LDC AND NON-ALIGNED COUNCILS, INDIA WILL CONTINUE TO LINE UP WITH THE

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MODERATES, WHILE AVOIDING ANY OPEN CONFRONTATION WITH THE RADICALS. ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL CONSIDERATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO MODERATE ITS APPROACH TO SPECIFIC POLITICAL ISSUES: E.G., GROWING TRADE TIES WITH SOUTH KOREA WILL PROBABLY INDUCE THE GOI TO ABSTAIN, AS IN PAST YEARS, ON UN KOREAN VOTESM CONCERN ABOUT ITS OWN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY (KASHMIR, SIKKIM) MAY CONTINUE TO DETER INDIA FROM SUPPORTING CUBAN MOVES ON PUERTO RICO.

4. QUEST FOR AID/EXPORT EARNINGS-- THE GOI HAS TWO OVERRIDING ECONOMIC INTERESTS WHICH IT WILL PURSUE WITH VIGOR IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS DURING 1976: (A) ASSURED FLOWS OF CONCESSIONAL FINANCING, INCLUDING DEBT RELIEF, AND (B) INCREASED EXPORT EARNINGS THROUGH EXPANDED ACCESS TO DC MARKETS AND IMPROVED PRICES FOR ITS COM-. MODITY EXPORTS. THE QUEST FOR AID WILL BE FOCUSED IN THE CIEC, WORLD BANK AND IMF, AS WELL AS THE UN (UNDP, IFAD). TRADE BENEFITS WILL BE SOUGHT IN THE MTN AND GATT, AT UNCTAD IV, AND IN INDIVIDUAL COMMODITY FORUMS (IRON, TA, JUTE). IN PURSUING THESE ECONOMIC GOALS IT WILL SEEK TO MAINTAIN LDC UNITY (IN PARTICULAR WITH OPEC) AS A TACTICAL MEASURE IN DEALING WITH THE DEVELOPED WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME IT WILL WORK AVOIDING NORTH-SOUTH CONFRONTATION AND PREFER A COURSE OF PRAGMATIC COMPROMISE. (SEE NEW DELHI 2344 FOR MORE DETAIL ON INDIA'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE CIEC CONTEXT.)

5. INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE (IOZP) -- INDIA CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR AN
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IOZP FROM WHICH GREAT-POWER MILITARY FORCES ARE EXCLUDED. INDIA WILL PRESS INDIAN OCEAN LITTORAL AND HINTERLAND COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT (E.G. IN JOINT COMMUNIQUES).

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